

# Friends in the Carolinas

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## Floyd Moore

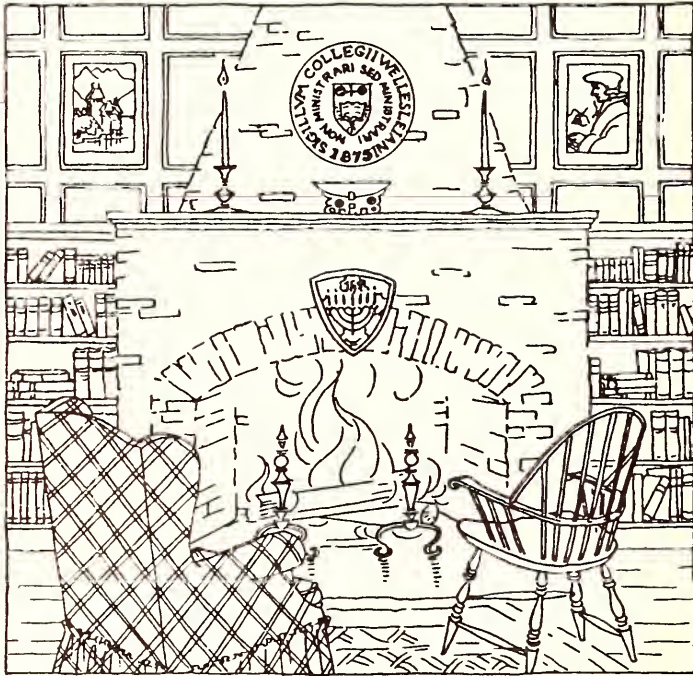


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# Friends in the Carolinas

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# Friends in the Carolinas

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TERCENTENARY CELEBRATION STEERING COMMITTEE  
NORTH CAROLINA FRIENDS HISTORICAL SOCIETY  
NORTH CAROLINA YEARLY MEETING OF FRIENDS  
Greensboro, North Carolina  
1997

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Cover: North Carolina Yearly Meeting House  
at New Garden, 1869, by John Collins

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## Preface to the Revised Edition

This revised edition of *Friends in the Carolinas* by J. Floyd Moore is being published as part of the five-year series of programs, publications, and events leading up to the 300th session of both North Carolina Yearly Meetings in 1997. These tercentenary celebrations are called Vision 400 to commemorate the two North Carolina Yearly Meetings' first steps into their fourth century.

J. Floyd Moore's brief history admirably promotes two of Vision 400's primary aims: to create for Carolina Quakers a sense of pride in our past, and an awareness of our present contributions as a community of faith. It helps us begin the task of shaping a future worthy of both.

*Friends in the Carolinas* had its origins as the 1963 Annual Quaker Lecture at High Point Monthly Meeting of Friends. By 1971 it had been printed three times. For this fourth version, at the request of the author, a committee was formed in the spring of 1997 to bring the work up to date. The members of that committee, along with countless fellow Quakers, are greatly indebted to J. Floyd Moore for this lasting gift, an overview that shows Carolina Quakers clearly and succinctly who we are and what we have done.

Joan Newlin Poole  
Coordinator, Tercentenary Celebration  
Steering Committee

Greensboro, North Carolina  
June 1997

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## Time Line of North Carolina Quakers

- CA. 1665     The Henry Phillips family arrives—first Friends in Carolina.
- 1672         William Edmundson, a Friends minister from Ireland, holds the first religious service in the colony. George Fox follows three months later.
- 1680         First written records of Friends in Carolina.
- 1695–1696   Quaker John Archdale serves as the governor of the colony.
- 1698         North Carolina Yearly Meeting is established at the home of Francis Toms, senior.
- 1708         Earliest surviving minutes of North Carolina Yearly Meeting.
- 1740–1775   Friends from eastern Carolina, Pennsylvania, Virginia, and Nantucket Island migrate to piedmont region, North Carolina.
- 1746         John Woolman visits North Carolina.
- 1755         Philadelphia Yearly Meeting's *Book of Discipline* is revised and adapted by North Carolina Yearly Meeting.
- 1781         New Garden and Deep River Friends render aid to American and British casualties of nearby Battle of Guilford Courthouse. Many soldiers are buried in New Garden Meeting cemetery.
- 1790–1865   Majority of North Carolina Friends migrate to Tennessee, Ohio, and Indiana for reasons of conscience and economics.
- 1791         North Carolina Yearly Meeting is held at New Garden meetinghouse for the first time.
- 1808         Guilford County (named for Lord North, Earl of Guildford) establishes a new county seat named for

## FRIENDS IN THE CAROLINAS

Nathanael Greene, the American general in the Battle of Guilford Courthouse who had been a birthright Friend in Rhode Island prior to disownment...Thus is born the city of Greensborough, now Greensboro.

- 1834      New Garden Boarding School, later Guilford College, is chartered.
- 1837      New Garden Boarding School opens August 1 with 25 boys and 25 girls—the first coeducational school in the South.
- 1837      Joseph John Gurney from Norwich, England, visits North Carolina.
- 1840–1860      Influential friends in the Manumission Society (organized to emancipate slaves) and the Underground Railroad include Nathan Hunt, Jeremiah Hubbard, Levi Coffin, and others.
- 1861–1865      Friends suffer hardships and persecution during the American Civil War, a low point in yearly meeting membership.
- 1865      The Baltimore Association to Advise and Assist Friends of the Southern States, along with Francis T. King, Joseph Moore, Nereus Mendenhall, Allen Jay, and others, establish a network of schools, repair and rebuild meetinghouses, and establish the Model Farm to improve agriculture, to insure the survival of North Carolina Yearly Meeting. Funds are also received from England and Ireland. The schools provide the basis for the North Carolina public school system.
- 1867      Warnersville, a community for freed slaves, is established in southeast Greensboro by Yardley Warner on behalf of Philadelphia Yearly Meeting.
- 1870      “General Meetings” are held. Congregational hymn singing and evangelical preaching are introduced. Allen Jay, an Ohio Quaker minister, brings revival movement to North Carolina Yearly Meeting.
- 1873      North Carolina Missionary Board is appointed.



## TIME LINE

- 1881 North Carolina Yearly Meeting gives its building (re-named King Hall) to New Garden Boarding School and moves in 1883 to a new building in High Point, where it meets until 1904.
- 1882 North Carolina Evangelistic Committee is appointed.
- 1885 Establishment of the first Women's Missionary Society in North Carolina at New Garden Meeting with four members: Mary S. Peele, Mary C. Woody, Debra Parker, and Sarah Morris.
- In 1888 the Women's Foreign Missionary Union of Friends in America is founded with Mary S. Peele as state president. After several name changes it becomes the United Society of Friends Women in 1948.
- 1888 New Garden Boarding School is rechartered as Guilford College.
- CA. 1890 Pastoral ministry begins.
- 1902 North Carolina Yearly Meeting joins the newly organized Five Years Meeting (later Friends United Meeting) with headquarters in Richmond, Indiana.
- 1902 First general meeting of Young Friends is held in a tent on the grounds of the Yearly Meeting in High Point.
- 1904 North Carolina Yearly Meeting (Conservative) is established by Friends who did not join Five Years Meeting (FUM). Annual sessions meet 1904–72 at Cedar Grove Meeting in Woodland; subsequent meetings alternate between Chowan College in Murfreesboro and Guilford College in Greensboro.
- 1904 Most North Carolina Friends adopt the *Uniform Discipline* of the Five Years Meeting.
- 1904–1932 *Friends Messenger* is published by NCYM (FUM).
- 1912 First distinctly Quaker youth group is formed—the Young Friends Association of North Carolina Yearly Meeting (FUM).

## FRIENDS IN THE CAROLINAS

- 1915 Lewis McFarland becomes the first to hold the position of Yearly Meeting (FUM) superintendent.
- 1917 The American Friends Service Committee (AFSC) is established in Philadelphia. Many North Carolina Friends join in its work projects.
- 1920 Sixteen delegates from North Carolina attend the First World Conference of Friends in London, England.
- 1934–*The Friendly Newsletter* is published by NCYM (FUM).
- 1935 Murray C. Johnson is first executive secretary of NCYM (FUM).
- 1937 Delegates from North Carolina yearly meetings attend the Second World Conference of Friends in Swarthmore, Pennsylvania.
- 1940 North Carolina Friends Historical Society is established, then subsequently laid down until 1976.
- 1942 Ohio Yearly Meeting (Damascus), later Evangelical Friends International–Eastern Region, establishes Piedmont Quarterly Meeting.
- 1943 North Carolina Friends participate in organizing the Friends Committee on National Legislation, the first staffed, religious lobby in Washington, D.C.
- 1948 NCYM (FUM) office building and “secretary’s home” is built across the road from Guilford College.
- 1949 Quaker Lake Camp and Conference Center property is purchased in Climax—a project of North Carolina Yearly Meeting (FUM).
- 1952 North Carolina Friends attend Third World Conference of Friends in Oxford, England.
- 1953 Guilford College hosts the International Conference of Young Friends.
- 1955 Virginia Beach Friends School is founded.
- 1957–1980 Southeastern regional office of AFSC is moved to High Point when one-half of the Solomon Blair farm is given to AFSC. The office is moved to Atlanta in 1980, al-

## TIME LINE

- though the Material Aids Program remains in High Point.
- 1964 Carolina Friends School is founded by Durham and Chapel Hill Friends Meetings.
- 1965–1972 Tercentenary of North Carolina Friends' arrival in the colony.
- 1967 Friends World Committee for Consultation sponsors the Fourth World Conference of Friends, held at Guilford College.
- 1968 Piedmont Friends Fellowship, later affiliated with Friends General Conference, is established.
- 1968 Friends Homes, Inc., a total care retirement community, is established by North Carolina Yearly Meeting (FUM).
- 1969 Quaker House is established in Fayetteville for military counseling and education.
- 1969 North Carolina Friends number more than 15,000.
- 1970 Permanent Board of North Carolina Yearly Meeting is renamed Representative Body.
- 1971 New Garden Friends School is founded in Greensboro as Guilford Division of Carolina Friends School. Classes are first held at Persimmon Grove A.M.E. Church. The school is incorporated as New Garden Friends School in 1972.
- 1972 Tercentenary of Friends' arrival in North Carolina concludes with first joint yearly meeting session of North Carolina Yearly Meeting (FUM) and North Carolina Yearly Meeting (Conservative) since NCYM(C)'s establishment in 1904.
- 1974 *The Sword of Peace*, outdoor drama about Quakers during the American Revolution, opens at Snow Camp. *Pathway to Freedom*, a drama about the Underground Railroad, is added later.
- 1976 North Carolina Friends Historical Society is revived.
- 1979 *The Southern Friend: Journal of The North Carolina Friends Historical Society* begins publication.

## FRIENDS IN THE CAROLINAS

- 1980 Friends Association for Higher Education is established and located at Guilford College.
- 1982 Friends Center is founded at Guilford College, with Judith W. Harvey as first director.
- 1985 Young Friends World Conference meets at Guilford College.
- 1988 First International Congress on Quaker Education is sponsored jointly by Guilford College, Friends Council on Education, and Friends Association for Higher Education. The congress is held at Guilford College.
- 1989 NCYM (FUM) office moves to 5506 W. Friendly Avenue, an office building purchased by the yearly meeting.
- 1990 North Carolina Friends Disaster Service is organized.
- 1993 North Carolina yearly meetings' five-year tercentenary celebration begins.
- 1993 Friends Homes, Inc. builds new retirement community at Friends Homes West. Original community is renamed Friends Homes at Guilford.
- 1994 Share the Blessings Campaign is launched by NCYM (FUM) to raise funds for the ministers retirement fund. By 1997 \$944,769 is pledged.
- 1995 Norfolk Quaker House is established for military counseling and education.
- 1996 American Friends Service Committee annual meeting is held for the first time outside of Philadelphia at Guilford College and New Garden Friends Meeting.
- 1997 North Carolina yearly meetings' 300th sessions are held at Guilford College to celebrate tercentenary.



## Yearly Meeting Locations

- 1698–1786 First Francis Toms' home, then at Old Neck and Little River Meetings of Perquimans Monthly Meeting, Perquimans County.
- 1787 & 1789 Centre meetinghouse, Guilford County. These mark the first sessions in central part of the state.
- 1788 Wells Meeting, Perquimans County.
- 1790–1813 Alternating between Symons Creek in Pasquotank County or Little River in Perquimans County, and New Garden Meeting House in Guilford County.
- 1814–1879 New Garden Meeting, Guilford County.
- 1880 Friendsville, Greene County, Tennessee.
- 1881–1882 New Garden meetinghouse (given to New Garden Boarding School in 1883; renamed King Hall).
- 1883–1904 High Point, Guilford County, in yearly meeting's new meetinghouse.
- 1904–1972 North Carolina Yearly Meeting (Conservative) sessions are held at Woodland (Cedar Grove Meeting of Rich Square Monthly Meeting).
- 1905–1911 NCYM (FUM) at Memorial Hall, Guilford College, later Duke Memorial Hall.
- 1912–1960 New Garden meetinghouse, later known as Guilford College's New Garden Hall.
- 1961– Dana Auditorium, Guilford College and New Garden meetinghouse with some sessions in other campus facilities.
- 1972– North Carolina Yearly Meeting (Conservative) sessions alternate between Guilford College and Chowan College, Hertford County, Murfreesboro.



# Friends in the Carolinas

by J. Floyd Moore

## I. Colonial Settlement 1665–1751

The American Indians who lived in the coastal area of the Carolinas during the sixteenth century encountered Spanish explorers who came up from the South. Soon they found the English coming directly to the Virginia and Carolina Coast. The Italian John de Verrazzano, under French auspices, explored the coastal area in 1524.<sup>1</sup>

Sir Walter Raleigh, in 1584, made the first attempt to plant a colony on the coast, taking back with him to England two Indians, Wanchese and Manteo.<sup>2</sup> Three years later he sent Governor John White back in a second effort. When White went back to England in 1587 for supplies, he was detained because of the war with Spain. In 1591 when he returned, there was no trace of the settlers. This led to various theories of the disappearance of “The Lost Colony.” Whether they mingled with the Croatan or Cheraw Indians, or whether they were unable to survive alone, has never been determined.<sup>3</sup>

Carolina was included in the Virginia grant of 1606 and was conveyed to Sir Robert Heath by Charles I in 1629. There was no serious attempt immediately to settle the territory, though several expeditions were made in the next three decades, as England was experiencing its transition from Charles I to the Commonwealth of Oliver Cromwell.<sup>4</sup>

The oldest extant land grant in Carolina was made by King Kilcocanen, of the Yeopim Indians, to a certain George Durant on March 1, 1661 (1662 new style) on the Perquimans River, and is known as Durant’s Neck.<sup>5</sup>

Observance of the tercentenary of North Carolina in 1963 was dated from the proprietary charter issued by the restored Charles II to eight prominent Englishmen on March 24, 1663: the Earl of Clarendon, Duke of Albemarle, Lord Craven, Lord Berkeley, Sir John Colleton, Lord Ashley, Sir George Carteret, Sir William Berkeley. Article 18 provided for freedom of worship according to conscience for those who could not conform to the Church of England.<sup>6</sup>

A second charter in 1665 extended the boundaries,<sup>7</sup> and the first general assembly was held in Albemarle that year.<sup>8</sup>

The English government became increasingly dissatisfied with proprietary rule of the colony and purchased seven of the eight shares in 1729, making it a royal colony 65 years after its first charter.<sup>9</sup> It continued until May 20, 1775, the date of its first declaration of independence, and July 4, 1776, the joint declaration by the colonies.<sup>10</sup> It became one of the original 13 states in the Continental Congress of 1776,<sup>11</sup> and in the federal government of 1789,<sup>12</sup> continuing in that status until the present except for the period from 1861 to 1865, when it seceded during the Civil War and joined the Confederate States.<sup>13</sup>

When North Carolina offered its land west of the mountains to Congress in 1784, settlers in the area organized the state of Franklin. It was unable to survive. However, in 1796 the territory was admitted to the union as the state of Tennessee.<sup>14</sup>

Carolina from its beginning consisted of the northern and southern areas, divided naturally by the river basins flowing into the Atlantic Ocean. South Carolina was explored as early as 1521 by the Spanish, followed by the French and the English, from 1629.<sup>15</sup> The name of South Carolina was used as early as 1685 and that of North Carolina by 1689.<sup>16</sup> The proprietary government of South Carolina was overthrown in 1721, and George I appointed the first royal governor.<sup>17</sup> The boundary line between the two colonies was determined by compromise in 1735 and established by surveys that followed.<sup>18</sup> South Carolina adopted its first constitution in March 1776 and, with the other colonies, joined in the Declaration of Independence on July 4, 1776.<sup>19</sup> The southern colony tried for a long period to secede in the mid-19th century, finally joining the other Confederate States in the Civil War of 1861–64.<sup>20</sup>



During the period of colonization and the rise of the new American republic, the Religious Society of Friends was also emerging from its birth in the Northwest of England during the period of George Fox's early ministry, between 1644 and 1652. From the time when Fox climbed Pendle Hill in Lancashire in 1652, having his vision of a mighty people to be gathered in the name of Christ, the dynamic period of Quaker expansion began. Four years later, Elizabeth Harris arrived as the first Quaker missionary to Maryland and Virginia, and Mary Fisher and Ann Austin made their unwelcome call in Massachusetts. By way of the West Indies, especially Barbados, Friends began to come in ever-increasing numbers to the new English colonies.<sup>21</sup>

There is no record to indicate that Friends visiting in southeast Virginia may have crossed into the northeastern part of the colony of Carolina, called "Albemarle," in the years from 1656 to 1665. The earliest documentation of Carolina Quakerism occurs in the Journal of William Edmundson, supported shortly afterward by that of George Fox. Fox confirmed the date of Edmundson's first visit as April 1672, when the latter met in the home of Henry Phillips, of whom he had apparently already heard. Phillips had become a Friend in Massachusetts and moved to Albemarle, where he had not seen a Friend for seven years, Edmundson reported.<sup>22</sup> It is on the basis of this statement that historians have regarded 1665 as the date for the coming of Friends to the Carolinas. It was also basis for the decision by North Carolina Yearly Meeting to observe the period from 1665 to 1972 as its tercentenary.<sup>23</sup>

Going first to New England early in 1672, Fox joined with Edmundson for a visit of 18 days in Carolina, beginning on November 21. Edmundson's description of this first Quaker meeting is a vivid reminder of the difficult beginning of Carolina Quakerism. Henry Phillips and his wife:

...had been convinced of the Truth in New England, and came there to live, who having not seen a Friend for seven years before, they wept for joy to see us; yet it being on a First day morning when we got there, I was weary and faint, and my cloths all wet. I desired them to send to the people there—away to come to a meeting about the middle of the day, and I would lye down upon a bed, and if I slept

too long, that they should awake me. Now about the hour appointed many people came, but they had little or no religion, for they came, and sat down in the meeting smoking their pipes; but in a little time, the Lord's testimony arose in the authority of His power, and their hearts being reached with it, several of them were tendered, and received the testimony. After meeting they desired me to stay with them, and let them have more meetings.<sup>24</sup>

In the November visit, which proved to be the birth period of Quakerism in the colony by Edmundson and Fox, George Fox gives a realistic insight into his interpretation of the Light Within as a universal capacity in man. They had traveled from Roanoke to Edenton:

...to a captain's house who was loving, and lent us a boat, for we were much wet in the canoe, the water came upon us in waves; and in that boat from thence we came to the governor's house; but the boat being deep and the water shoal that our boat would not swim, I was fain to put off my shoes and stockings and wade through the water a pretty way to the governor's house, who with his wife received us lovingly. And there was a doctor that did dispute with us, which was of great service and occasion of opening much to the people concerning the Light and the Spirit. And he so opposed it in everyone, that I called an Indian because he denied it to be in them, and I asked him if that he did lie and do that to another which he would not have them do the same to him, and when he did wrong was not there something in him, that did tell him of it, that he should not do so, but did reprove him. And he said there was such a thing in him when he did any such a thing that he was ashamed of them. So we made the doctor ashamed in the sight of the governor and the people; and he ran so far out that he would not own the Scriptures.<sup>25</sup>

Thus began the first organized religion in the Carolinas. The Society grew in the Albemarle area, centering from Hertford through Perquimans and Pasquotank counties, eventually expanding along the coast west and southwest into Northampton, Edgecombe, Beaufort, Hyde, Lenoir, Wayne, Carteret, and Bladen counties. The proprietors and their official representatives reflected the traditional views of the established Church of England, but there is no record of any attempt by Anglicans or others to organize a religious body during this period.

The growth of Quakerism during the next 26 years justified the beginning in 1698 of North Carolina Yearly Meeting, which has con-

tinued without interruption. A separation in 1903 resulted in the formation of North Carolina Yearly Meeting (Conservative), with Rich Square Meeting in Woodland as its center. These two yearly meetings represent together three centuries of Carolina Quakerism.

English Friends went directly to the southern part of the Carolinas, settling in Charleston as early as 1682.<sup>26</sup> By 1695 the economic and political problems encountered by the colonists were so serious that John Archdale, who had served as acting governor in the absence of Governor Seth Sothel in 1685–86, was appointed in 1695–96 as governor. Influenced by George Fox, he had become a Friend, and during the period from 1681 to 1718, both in America and England, he won wide respect and admiration with a quality of leadership that has not again been attained by a Friend in such high office in the Carolinas. His reconciling regime, both peaceful and strong, was a major factor in the rise of Quakerism to its popular and predominant position in the colony. Though Archdale resided in Charleston, he governed both provinces. A son-in-law, Emmanuel Lowe, and a stepson, Thomas Cary, became influential leaders. Lowe, a Friend, was read out of meeting for his participation in the Cary Rebellion in 1705–11. There is no record that Cary was a Friend.<sup>27</sup> The family relationship of Lowe and Cary with Governor Archdale and other Friends has led to the false assumption that the Society was a party to anti-government demonstrations.<sup>28</sup>

In *The History of Quakerism*, Elbert Russell said that under Archdale, "Friends' scruples were respected and a number of Friends were elected to the assembly, so that they virtually controlled the Carolinas during the last decade of the seventeenth century. Even after Archdale resigned they continued to be an influential part of the population."<sup>29</sup> The influence of William Penn in Pennsylvania was so dominant that Friends have tended to overlook the less dramatic contributions to Rhode Island, New Jersey, Delaware, and the Carolinas. Archdale's creative leadership in the tension between colonists, proprietors, French, and Indians places him in the high company of Penn both as a Friend and as a governor.

With the planting of the Church of England, implemented by the Vestry Acts of 1701 to 1715, problems for all dissenters rapidly in-

creased, in the economic as in the political and religious realms.<sup>30</sup> As these problems accelerated, Friends moved farther inland and to the south and southwest. They were concerned not only in outreach to the Indians and to other settlers; they were confronted with the serious matter of making a living for themselves while resisting the encroachment of government and established church.

Friends were numerous enough in 1681 in the northern province and southern territories that Fox wrote a letter, suggesting that the two groups hold a half-yearly or at least a yearly meeting. The geography of the coastal areas of the two states indicates that early Friends were simply pragmatic when they declined to do so. Such a pragmatic decision did not occur to Fox, for whom swamps, rivers, mountains, oceans, pirates, or prisons would hardly seem to be serious obstacles.<sup>31</sup>

Nevertheless, according to Stephen B. Weeks, the ablest and most adequate of all the historians of Southern Quakerism, about 13 meetings had been established in the years from 1665 to 1750: in North Carolina—Little River, Symon's Creek, Core Sound, Carver's Creek, Bath, Dunn's Creek, Contentnea, Falling Creek, and possibly Narrows and Newbegun Creek; in South Carolina—Charleston, Wateree (possibly the same as Fredericksburg), and possibly Edisto.<sup>32</sup>



## II. Piedmont Settlement and Revolution, 1751–1800

Under the royal charter, settlers in the Carolinas, like those along the coast to Boston, began to feel serious political and economic restraint. Friends, along with other dissenters, including Moravians, Huguenots, Baptists, and Presbyterians, were confronted with the question of loyalty versus freedom. They began to move inland to the piedmont sections of the Carolinas. This was followed by two major waves of migrations, from Pennsylvania by way of Maryland and Virginia, and later (1771–75) from Nantucket Island off the coast of Massachusetts.

The two most important communities to be settled in the area, beginning about 1750, were Cane Creek, in Alamance County, and New Garden, in what is now Guilford County. These two, particularly New Garden, became the center of southern Quakerism and from them and the meetings associated with them in North Carolina, Quakerism spread during the next 125 years, first into piedmont South Carolina and Georgia, then into Tennessee, Ohio, and Indiana. Eventually this westward movement carried Friends on to Illinois, Iowa, Kansas, Nebraska, California, and Oregon.

Friends had been concerned not only with making a living and dealing justly with the Indians during this second period. Their life was complicated by the increase in slavery and their desire, under the leadership of John Woolman and others, to free all Friends from such practices. The growing demand for independence and the willingness of colonists to take up arms had created opposition to Friends, who sympathized with the aims of their fellow settlers even while opposing their methods.

Again, as in the Cary Rebellion, Friends found themselves condemned for the actions of individuals who sympathized with those who would use force. In the War of the Regulators in Alamance County,

one of the principal figures was Herman Husband, a strong-minded, conscientious, independent former member of Cane Creek, who was one of the leaders in opposition to the government. He had been read out of meeting before these events of 1771 because of earlier difficulties, but this dissociation was not always clear to his opponents.<sup>33</sup>

Friends had already begun to move farther south and west. The deprivations of the American Revolution were serious, since Friends felt they must hold to their testimony against violence. Thus came the first large westward migration into Tennessee and the Northwest Territory. By this time Quakerism had taken a hold so strong in piedmont North Carolina that it proved able to endure the wars, depressions, and accompanying vicissitudes of the next two centuries. Permanent Friends' communities developed not only at Cane Creek and New Garden, but also at Centre, Rocky River, Holly Springs, Springfield, and Westfield, between 1750 and 1775, and soon afterwards at Back Creek, Providence, Deep Creek, Spring, and Marlboro.<sup>34</sup>

An example of Quaker migration during this period, and its unpredictable results, was the arrival in the New Garden community of John and Mary Payne in 1765. Their daughter, Dolley, was born at New Garden on May 20, 1768. In 1794, after the death of her husband, John Todd, Dolley was married in Philadelphia to James Madison, who became president of the United States in 1809.<sup>35</sup> With changing customs of family life in the White House, Dolley Madison remains a winsome example of the first lady.

One of the hard facts in Quaker history has been the difficulty of transmitting its testimonies to its youth. A dramatic example of departure from Friends' ideals is that of a young Rhode Island Quaker, Nathanael Greene, who became a general in the army and one of General George Washington's trusted aides. It was he who led the American forces along the Old Salisbury Road to New Garden Road and on to the tragic Battle of Guilford Courthouse on March 15, 1781, against Lord Cornwallis. When the new Guilford County seat was established in 1808, it was named Greensborough (Greensboro) in his honor.<sup>36</sup>

All Friends were urged to smoke and drink only in moderation.

There were testimonies against “Vain and vicecious Proseedings as Frollicking Fiddling and Dancing.” One North Carolina Friend in 1777 was clerk of a lottery.<sup>37</sup>

In the midst of war and its sorrowful aftermath, the small Society of Friends in North Carolina was producing heroic figures who dealt forthrightly with the heavy burdens of economy, government, and slavery. They were encouraged by the ministry of traveling Friends from northern yearly meetings and from England and Ireland. Among them were: Thomas Chalkley, John and Samuel Fothergill, John Churchman, John Woolman, William Reckitt, Catherine Peyton, and Mary Peisley. The intervisitation which throughout its history has cross-fertilized and enriched the Society of Friends discovered new strength in the personalities of Carolina’s own traveling Friends, men and women of the quality of William Hunt, a cousin of John Woolman who died in England and was buried at Newcastle-upon-Tyne, and Sophia Hume, a granddaughter of Mary Fisher.<sup>38</sup>

### III. Anti-Slavery and Exodus, 1800–1865

While the period of revolution and American independence tested the very existence of Quakerism in the South, Friends in piedmont North Carolina stood the test with growing vigor. Like the oak that weathers a hurricane, Friends meetings developed virility and lasting power through these struggles. This may account for two aspects of Quakerism in the Carolinas during the early nineteenth century: large-scale migration of individuals, families, and even entire meetings; at the same time, the decision of other equally able leaders and meetings to remain at home and, once again, like their parents and grandparents, witness even among hostile neighbors against slavery and civil war.

The story of the exodus to the northwest is one of the dramatic events in the history of American pioneers. There was undoubtedly a combination of motives—personal, economic, political, and adventurous. The central fact remains, however, that the continued system of human slavery and the difficulties encountered by Friends in their attempt to abolish this practice, created the dynamics of social tension that produced the mighty exodus.

Friends in Germantown, Pennsylvania, had led the way as early as 1688, proposing that no Friend should hold slaves.<sup>39</sup> In various stages, this movement continued small step by small step along the East Coast. North Carolina Yearly Meeting moved in the same evolutionary way to assist first its own members and to influence its neighbors, in freeing, educating, resettling, and assisting the slave population. Minutes were passed from 1758 to 1788 that brought the yearly meeting to the point at which its membership was free of slavery.<sup>40</sup> Paradoxically, North Carolina Yearly Meeting in 1808 found itself in the unique situation of becoming a corporate slave owner itself. In 1822 a man by the name of John Kennedy assigned 36 Negroes to North Carolina Yearly Meeting.<sup>41</sup> State law prohibited the freeing of



slaves by individuals. Such practices also led to the recapture of slaves by non-Friends. As it has often happened to Friends, a creative solution had to be found for this critical dilemma. The answer was a yearly meeting ownership which would, in practice, provide virtual freedom. There were Negro members in the Society as early as 1829.<sup>42</sup>

Friends were among the leaders in two influential movements that characterized the social history of the antislavery movement: the manumission societies and the Underground Railroad. The North Carolina Manumission Societies, under the leadership of Charles Osborn, were organized in the New Garden community and eventually numbered at least 40 branches with 1,600 members.<sup>43</sup> When a non-Friends wing of the society insisted that resettlement in Haiti or Liberia should be a prime emphasis in abolition, the Quakers, led by New Garden Meeting, withdrew. They were interested in the individual rights of the slaves to live in freedom in this country or in the place of their choice. Influential as the societies were upon the social views of the state for two decades, they practically disappeared by 1834.

Beginning in 1818 Vestal Coffin, his son, Addison, and his cousin, Levi, were the principal leaders of the Underground Railroad, a system of cooperation that enabled Friends and their sympathizers to transport slaves secretly from one hideout to another, until they reached the free states of the northwest or Canada. While Friends sought energetically to assist the slaves, they could not, in keeping with their historic practice of acting at all times openly before the world, support the clandestine movement of the Underground Railroad. Individual Friends found their consciences clear and were able to assist several thousand slaves in their flight for freedom.

Historian Stephen B. Weeks left a map showing active meetings as distinguished from meetings laid down. It demonstrated the enormous losses suffered by Friends in the Carolinas during the first 65 years of the nineteenth century. In 1799 there were 10 meetings in South Carolina and three in Georgia. But in the next few decades, Bush River migrated as a whole; Charleston, Edisto, and Wateree no longer existed, nor did Wrightsborough, Georgia. Quakerism effectively disappeared from both Georgia and South Carolina. The same movement had so decimated Virginia Yearly Meeting that it ceased to

exist as a yearly meeting after 1844.<sup>44</sup>

Most of the meetings in Eastern North Carolina, along with hundreds of people from the piedmont meetings, migrated. Weeks recorded a total of 2,178 altogether, based on written certificates of record—1,400 of which were for entire families.<sup>45</sup> No one knows how many moved without leaving a record. This movement naturally crippled the North Carolina Yearly Meeting to such an extent that a recovery may have seemed beyond hope.

This critical loss of leadership could have been even worse had the two serious divisions among northern Friends—the Hicksite–Orthodox separation in Philadelphia, 1827–28, and the Wilburite–Gurneyite separation of New England in 1845—further segmented the remaining Friends in North Carolina. Fortunately, this did not occur. Instead, Friends witnessed the growth of Quaker education, which in retrospect may have been the chief means of survival for Carolina Quakerism.

Nathan Hunt was among the farsighted Friends who realized early in the century that Quakerism, without priest, seminary, sacrament, or ritual, must have a sound basis of education for its total membership, male and female. With a potentially unfriendly legislature, a group of influential Friends, as individuals, not in the name of the yearly meeting, applied for and received on January 13, 1834, a charter to operate a boarding school. New Garden Boarding School opened on August 1, 1837, with 25 boys and 25 girls, representing each quarterly meeting. That school, led during the next 30 years by Dougan Clark, Joshua Stanley, Thomas T. Hunt, Nereus Mendenhall, David Marshall, Aaron Stalker, and Jonathan E. Cox, laid the foundations for a broad educational preparation of new leaders for the yearly meeting and was one of the chief factors in the survival of the yearly meeting after its staggering losses.<sup>46</sup>

New Garden Meeting had shown for over 75 years the quality of its leadership, so it was chosen as the site for the boarding school. Not far away were Centre, Cane Creek, Deep River, and Springfield, from which it drew much needed support.

Prophetic of the future for the yearly meeting was the visit in 1837

of Joseph John Gurney, the distinguished English Friend whose influence is now so widely recognized in the Friends United Meeting. To the first students of New Garden he urged serious Bible study and application of Friends' testimonies to an active program of Christianity in the larger community.<sup>47</sup>

## IV. Civil War, Suffering, Reconstruction, and Revival, 1865–1902

Tragic as were the American Revolution and the conflict of European settlers with Indians and with one another, the Civil War was devastating in its mutual destruction of political partners. The poverty, suffering, and death were appalling. For Friends the burden was all the greater, for they were called to their share of suffering in silent protest not only against the enslavement of fellow human beings, but out of protest against the taking up of arms against brothers. They knew in the cells of dirty prisons, as George Fox knew 200 years earlier, what it meant to suffer for love's sake.

Fernando Cartland has told this story of “Southern Heroes” with the poignancy of the Acts of the Apostles.<sup>48</sup> Among his many vivid personal narratives is the story of Solomon Frazier, who farmed along Deep River near Coltraine's Mill. Though Frazier, like some other Friends, had paid a fine to avoid military service, he was taken by 10 armed men, marched to Bush Hill (now Archdale) and on to the Salisbury prison. A robust and strong man, he refused to take up arms. As Cartland tells the story:

First, the bucking-down was resorted to for two hours; then they made him carry a heavy pole for three hours; at night they tied him up as they would a horse or a mule. Next morning he was suspended by his hands. . . for three hours. They tied a gun to his right arm and a heavy piece of wood to his neck. Unable to stand longer under the weight of the wood, he sat down, resting one end of it on the ground. A soldier immediately pierced him with a bayonet. They then bucked him down again, and while in this painful position, he says that they proceeded to gag him with a bayonet. This was done by throwing his head back and putting the bayonet in his mouth, the sharp edge pressing the lips as it was tied tightly to the back of his head . . . for the remainder of the day. . . . They tied his arms to a beam fastened to a post, like a cross, and raised him upon it in imitation of the Christ for whom he suffered. They then put upon him what they called a bar-



rel-shirt . . . and the barrel rested in such a way as to fasten down both arms and legs. . . . Solomon Frazier was so meek, and endured all their persecutions with such patience, that the captain . . . got very angry, swore at him . . . and told him . . . he must now take a gun or die. While the officer was tying the gun to his arm, Solomon remarked to him: "If it is thy duty to inflict this punishment upon me, do it cheerfully; don't get angry about it." The Captain then left him, saying to his men: If any of you can make him fight, do it; I cannot.<sup>49</sup>

Jonathan Worth, a Randolph County Friend who left the Society after he married a Presbyterian, was elected governor of North Carolina in the difficult period of 1866 to 1868. He understood the position of Friends but was wholly involved in the frustrating task of trying to reconcile a hostile state to the federal presidency of Andrew Johnson.

During these years, New Garden Boarding School was in debt, lost pupils and teachers, and all but closed its doors. Only the faith and loyalty of Nereus and Oriana Mendenhall kept its doors open.<sup>50</sup> As a result the school, later chartered as Guilford College, has maintained a record of uninterrupted service—one of the few Southern schools to do so.

When the stark reality of economic desperation hit hardest during the long years of reconstruction, much-needed assistance was mobilized by the Baltimore Association, under the inspired leadership of Francis T. King. It was said that Addison Coffin conducted 10 trains of migrating North Carolinians, though not all Friends, each year from 1866 to 1872. But Francis King wanted Friends to remain and rebuild their lives. With the assistance of men like Joseph Moore and Allen Jay, the Baltimore Association raised \$138,300 from London, Dublin, New York, New England, Philadelphia, Indiana, Ohio, Western, and Iowa Friends. This was used to assist in schools, both for Friends and freedmen; for meetinghouses; for New Garden Boarding School; and for the demonstration farm, the Model Farm on the former Nathan Hunt place at Springfield.<sup>51</sup>

When the Baltimore Association closed its program in 1872, it left the boarding school stronger; it left 38 other schools with 62 teachers and 2,358 pupils. It had shown on the Model Farm that improved agricultural practices could provide an adequate life for the Quaker

farmer. Schools for freedmen were begun by Friends in 1860, and by 1869 there were 24 day schools, 35 Sunday schools, with 1,707 pupils, under the direction of Dr. J. M. Tomlinson.<sup>52</sup> While the Baltimore Association had directed its program toward the relief and rehabilitation of its own people, the mode of operation was in every sense a true forerunner to the American Friends Service Committee, which was established in Philadelphia in 1917.

Depleted in numbers and exhausted by war, North Carolina Friends, with generous assistance from Friends on both sides of the Atlantic, began once again to find a sense of stability. Weeks estimates that there were only 1,785 Friends over age 18 in 1866. Ten years later there were apparently 4,275, though this may include children. In 1895 the number reached 6,022.<sup>53</sup>

The yearly meeting, which had met in eastern North Carolina continuously from 1698 to 1786, met alternately in the Piedmont until 1813. From that date until 1883 it met at New Garden, except for the year 1880 in Friendsville, Tennessee. From 1883 until 1903 it met in High Point, later moving back to New Garden.<sup>54</sup>

As the century came to a close, the educational program of Friends in local communities was increasingly assumed by the state. The status of New Garden Boarding School, renamed Friends School in the mid-1880s, increased in quality and outreach. In January 1889, under the leadership of its able principal, Lewis Lyndon Hobbs, the school's charter was amended as Guilford College, a full-fledged liberal arts institution. It graduated its first class later that year.

Meanwhile the yearly meeting began to feel and respond to the influence of the strong evangelical movement of its neighbors, especially of the Baptist and Methodist churches. The emphases of the evangelical revival movement began to sweep through southern as well as midwestern Quakerism. With it came the Biblically centered theology of Calvinistic and Wesleyan Protestantism, followed by the emotionalism of revivals and eventually the employment of settled pastors. In vitality, interest, and response, there was a renaissance within the yearly meeting. It was not a renaissance that pleased all the older Friends, for it was a new type of Quakerism. For the younger

Friends and the new converts, it offered the hope that comes with enthusiasm and commitment.

The social and theological ingredients that produced these changes in North Carolina were also at work throughout the western yearly meetings. The organic result was the holding of the Richmond, Indiana, conference of 1887, and subsequent meetings, concluded by the establishment of the Five Years Meeting of Friends in 1902. North Carolina, along with 11 other yearly meetings in which the Gurneyite views were dominant, joined in this new national association of Friends for cooperative endeavors. Meanwhile, another group of five yearly meetings with predominantly Hicksite views organized a parallel association called the Friends General Conference. This date brought North Carolina Friends to a new era.

## V. Twentieth Century Growth, 1902–1997

Adoption of the new discipline of the Five Years Meeting (later Friends United Meeting) by North Carolina Yearly Meeting resulted in the only separation that has occurred in three centuries. Friends from Rich Square in Eastern Quarter were not satisfied with all the aspects of this “new” Quakerism and its trend toward the pastoral and programmed activities of Protestantism. Also deeply concerned about the need for autonomy within monthly meetings, they decided to withdraw and form their own yearly meeting, which would communicate with other like-minded yearly meetings. Thus was born in 1903 the North Carolina Yearly Meeting (Conservative). Beginning in 1904, the group met annually at Cedar Grove meetinghouse in Woodland, North Carolina. More recently it met at Guilford College and at Chowan College alternately. In 1997 North Carolina Yearly Meeting (Conservative) had eight monthly meetings—Rich Square, West Grove, Durham, Virginia Beach, Wilmington, Fayetteville, Greenville, and Friendship—and 492 members.

In 1955, Virginia Beach Friends Meeting established a Friends school under Principal W. Carey Reese.<sup>55</sup> By 1997, that school, led by Headmistress Phyllis Sullivan, had an enrollment of 165 students from the age of three through 10th grade, and its administration planned to graduate its first 12th-graders in 1999.

Durham Meeting joined with the Chapel Hill Meeting (FUM) to incorporate the Carolina Friends School on October 19, 1962. The first kindergarten opened in Durham in 1964, the second in Chapel Hill in 1965. A new elementary school building on Couch Road in Orange County was opened for grades 1 to 4 in 1966, with a middle school for grades 5 to 8 to follow five years later.<sup>56</sup> By 1997 the school served 475 students ranging from age three through 12th grade, with a faculty of 65 led by Principal John Baird.

In 1971 an extension of Carolina Friends School was established



near Guilford College, first located in the Persimmon Grove A.M.E. Church. The school was later named New Garden Friends School and relocated in buildings at the edge of the Guilford College Campus. A preschool was established at New Garden Friends Meeting. In 1997 the school enrolled a total of 165 students from age three through the 8th grade, and employed 18 teaching faculty. Its co-headmasters were Marty Goldstein and David Tomlin.

More recently, the Friends School of Wilmington was established in 1995 by Wilmington Friends Meeting. With 45 students, in grades 6 through 8, and three faculty members, the school was housed in a Boys Club near the port area. By some time in the 1997–98 school year, however, the school's founders planned to have not only a new building but also its first headmaster.

Relations between the two North Carolina yearly meetings have been harmonious. In fact, at one time the clerks of the two yearly meetings were brothers, Algie and Mahlon Newlin. Members of the two yearly meetings have worked together with increasing effectiveness as trustees of Guilford College, members of the Tercentenary Committee, members of the Friends World Committee for Consultation, and during the years 1966–67, on activities associated with the Fourth World Conference of Friends and the weekend intervisitation of approximately 1,200 Friends throughout the state. While members of each yearly meeting have often visited the sessions of the other, the two yearly meetings encouraged this fellowship on a larger and more formal scale on the occasions of the Tercentenary celebrations of 1971–72 and 1993–97.

A third element of Quakerism in North Carolina arose outside these two yearly meetings with the extension of Ohio Yearly Meeting (Evangelical)—later called Evangelical Friends International—into the Piedmont. By 1997 this extension encompassed 11 meetings, including eight Friends churches in North Carolina and three in southern Virginia, with a total of 666 members.<sup>57</sup>

A number of meetings and worship groups in Western North Carolina affiliated with the Southern Appalachian Yearly Meeting and Association, based in Decatur, Georgia.<sup>58</sup> Those meetings included

Asheville Monthly Meeting, Black Mountain Worship Group, Boone Monthly Meeting, Brevard Monthly Meeting, Catawba Valley Preparative Meeting, Celo Monthly Meeting, Swannanoa Valley Preparative Meeting, Sylva Worship Group, Tryon Worship Group, and Wilkes County Monthly Meeting.

Friendship Monthly Meeting, which grew out of an unprogrammed worship group on the Guilford College campus, accepted affiliation with the Friends General Conference on January 10, 1971 and with North Carolina Yearly Meeting (Conservative) in 1981. It also has cooperated with North Carolina Yearly Meeting (FUM) on joint projects.<sup>59</sup>

Meanwhile, though losing many meetings in the nineteenth century, the larger yearly meeting added new meetings during the twentieth century until it listed 80 active monthly meetings with a total membership in 1996 of 11,131. These were located primarily in the eight quarters that had been settled by Friends in the last century: Eastern, Contentnea, New Garden, Deep River, Western, Southern, Yadkin Valley, and Surry. Five monthly meetings were across the Virginia boundary—two north of Surry County and three in southeastern Virginia. Two of the southeastern Virginia meetings—Corinth and Somerton—had transferred their membership in 1966 from Baltimore Yearly Meeting to the Eastern Quarterly Meeting of North Carolina Yearly Meeting (FUM). Finally, one meeting was nearly a thousand miles distant in Miami, Florida, and consisted primarily of Cuban Friends, many of whom had migrated for political reasons.

A new meeting was established by North Carolina Yearly Meeting (FUM) at Jamestown on July 4, 1964, and another at Statesville in 1971, while Rockingham Preparative Meeting of New Garden Monthly Meeting was set up in 1970.

Several meetings were to have short lives. A meeting was established at Spruce Pine in 1976, to be laid down in 1988. Another meeting, Northview, was begun at the same site in 1988, only to be laid down later. Two other meetings, Burlington and Dan River, were established in the 1980s but were later discontinued. Woodland Monthly Meeting in Goldsboro was laid down in 1991.

Four meetings established under North Carolina Yearly Meeting (FUM)—Graham, established in 1907; Oakland, established in 1915; Quaker Heights, established in 1976; and Community Fellowship Group, begun in 1979—later became independent.

Yet a number of meetings established during this period remained active. They included Faith, Mar–Mac, Thomasville, Northeast, Battle Forest, and Trinity. Still another, Sharon Meeting, was begun in 1987, declined in the early 1990s, and was revived as Southview Meeting in 1994.

Thus, by 1997, Guilford County remained among the most densely Quaker–populated counties in the United States.

The voluntary nature of Quaker leadership has tended to restrict the number of paid staff members at all levels. North Carolina Yearly Meeting (Conservative) has no paid staff. In North Carolina Yearly Meeting (FUM), Lewis McFarland served from 1915 to 1935 as first superintendent of evangelistic work. He was succeeded by Murray Johnson as field secretary from 1935 to 1941. The title of executive secretary was given to Fredric Carter in 1943–47; he was succeeded by Isaac Harris, 1947–53; Seth Hinshaw, 1953–68; and Victor Murchison, 1968–71, who was succeeded by Hershel Hill, and by superintendents Billy Britt and John P. Porter. By 1997 the staff included a superintendent, a business manager, Christian education director, administrative assistant, secretary, bookkeeper; and two staff members of Quaker Lake Conference Center—the director and caretaker.

Though both women and men have always participated in yearly meeting activities, it was significant that Ruth Reynolds Hockett of Centre Meeting was chosen clerk in August 1970, thus breaking the long tradition of male presiding clerks in North Carolina Yearly Meeting (FUM).

By the late 1990s these developments brought the number of monthly meetings and worship groups affiliated with the four yearly meetings and Friends General Conference to 109. North Carolina Yearly Meeting (FUM) has 11,131 members in 80 monthly meetings;



North Carolina Yearly Meeting (Conservative) has 492 members in eight monthly meetings; Evangelical Friends International has 666 members in 11 monthly meetings; Southern Appalachian Yearly Meeting and Association has 10 monthly meetings and worship groups. All together, then, the four regional Friends associations found in North Carolina represent well over 12,000 active Friends.

A strong Quaker emphasis survived for a century at Frogmore on St. Helena Island, where Friends from New England, Philadelphia, and the South assisted in one of the South's distinctive programs for Negro education and community life, Penn Community Services, near Beaufort, South Carolina.

As Friends have grown in number in North Carolina, they have increasingly taken on the character of a Protestant denomination. They have joined with other Protestant churches in a variety of cooperative enterprises, particularly in the state, National, and World Councils of Churches. Elbert Russell, Samuel L. Haworth, Alice Paige White, and Clyde A. Milner were among the Friends who gave distinctive leadership to these ecumenical relationships. Other contributors to these pages have added the names of Algie I. and Eva Newlin, Floyd and Lucretia Moore, Sam and Miriam Levering, Seth Hinshaw, David Stanfield, and Wilton Hartzler.

Quakerism differs from Judaism and Catholicism in some important respects, but members of these three minority faiths discovered that they could work in close fellowship in North Carolina. Any opposition to Friends centered on the historic peace testimony and the Quakers' refusal to support or participate in wars, even though many individual Friends did participate. In the area of race relations, and especially in the effort to eliminate segregation, North Carolina Friends often had the support of Jewish and Catholic leaders. Cooperative endeavors such as the National Conference have demonstrated a deeply rooted religious community as well as the emerging ecumenical spirit of the twentieth century.

While giving strong support to cooperative Christian activities in the North Carolina Council of Churches, Friends have also developed a very close relationship to Methodism in the state. The two groups



have shared deep concerns for social justice, and the dominant influence was no doubt Elbert Russell, the Quaker Dean of Duke Divinity School from 1928 to 1941. His interpretation of Christian ethics in the area of divine–human love, of nonviolence, of peace, social justice, and world brotherhood, influenced an entire generation of Methodist ministerial students whose leadership was felt throughout the state.<sup>60</sup>

North Carolina Friends have given strong support, both in leadership and in finances, to the cooperative program of the Friends United Meeting. Some have served as clerks, others as chairpersons of important committees, others as representatives on mission fields.

Similarly, North Carolina Friends have participated in, supported, and found creative opportunities for service in the American Friends Service Committee since its founding in 1917. Conscientious objectors to participation in war performed alternative service with the AFSC during World Wars I and II, the Korean War, and the war in Vietnam. Many North Carolina Friends assisted AFSC's Southeastern Regional Office in Greensboro with the collection of used clothing for relief of Europe's war sufferers following World War II. This program of material aids has been the longest continuous program in the southeastern region and involves the largest number of Quaker volunteers.

Over the years the AFSC's work in the Southeast expanded to include world affairs conferences, college and high school work camps, counseling of conscientious objectors, equal employment opportunities for minorities, school desegregation, self-help housing for migrant workers, and peace education focused on the Middle East and southern Africa. During these years AFSC staffed programs in all but one of the nine states of the southeastern region.

Originally located in Greensboro, the regional headquarter's office moved to High Point in 1957 to a homestead given by David Blair, a descendant of Solomon and Abigail Blair. The office remained in that location until 1980, when the property was sold and the proceeds used to purchase a small office building in Atlanta for the regional headquarters. Programs that continued to operate in North Carolina were Material Aids; a racial justice program; and Orita (meaning

“crossroads”), a program helping middle school students to develop leadership skills by creating and operating small businesses.

In 1990 the North Carolina Friends Disaster Service was organized to aid families who may be financially unable to rebuild after suffering the devastation of hurricanes, floods, fires, or other disasters. The disaster relief team provides the labor after the families’ friends and neighbors, or the Red Cross, Salvation Army, or other organizations provide materials.

North Carolina Friends Disaster Service has been led by representatives of each Quarterly Meeting in North Carolina Yearly Meeting (FUM) and of Quaker Men and the United Society of Friends Women. Operational funds, approximately \$12,000 per year, come from donations.

While the influence of pastoral Quakerism has increased in North Carolina during the past half century, several meetings, notably Chapel Hill, Raleigh, Charlotte, and New Garden, have maintained opportunities for Friends to worship in the traditional manner of Friends. Even where meetings prefer the trained leadership of pastors, there remains for the most part a genuine sense of freedom and openness for spontaneous participation by all Friends.

In spite of Quaker concern for racial justice in North Carolina, there has been only token attendance and practically no black membership. There did, however, appear to be a gradual change of attitude and more encouragement of a real interracial fellowship after the 1954 decision by the Supreme Court and with the noticeable social and economic changes in the South as a whole.

In 1997 North Carolina Yearly Meeting (FUM) was now the largest of the yearly meetings on this continent, within Friends United Meeting.

During the decades of the twentieth century—as Friends have encountered the problems of world war, depression, inflation, industrialization, and urbanization—the tendency to assimilate forms and practices of other Protestant denominations has been strong. These forms and practices could be observed in church organization, architecture, ritual, theology, and social testimonies. Friends meetings

often had little to distinguish them from nearby Protestant churches. At the same time, there was in almost every meeting a fundamental emphasis on one or more historic Friends testimonies. In North Carolina Yearly Meeting (FUM) the rapid growth of the pastoral system after 1920 brought a wave of construction of parsonages and new meetinghouses or additions. The increase in the number of pastors also spawned new activities in the fields of Christian education, youth work, counseling, and community service.

One of the most valuable assets of the educational program of North Carolina Yearly Meeting (FUM), especially for its youth, was the establishment in 1949 of Quaker Lake, a year-round conference center and summer camp at Climax, 20 miles south of Greensboro. While the original tract was a 104-acre farm, subsequent land purchases have expanded Quaker Lake to more than 200 acres. The center has enabled Friends to provide a constructive program of Christian education to hundreds of young people each summer and to numerous Friends groups throughout the year.

Two developments in North Carolina in the last half-century indicated a deeper concern for two segments of our population, the elderly and those drafted for military service. The result has been the establishment of Friends Homes at Guilford College and Quaker House in Fayetteville.

A survey of North Carolina Yearly Meeting showed that more than 2,000 members over the age of 60 confronted the problem of proper care, whether by family, government, private, or church sources. With that in mind, a program beginning in 1954 culminated in the opening of the first units of Friends Homes, with 24 apartments, in September 1968. The occupants of those apartments represented six religious faiths and seven states. Since that time Friends Homes has added a nursing unit, both seven-story and four-story apartment buildings, and a residential care building.

In 1991 ground was broken for Friends Homes West, which included 171 apartments in addition to nursing and assisted living units. The first residents moved into Friends Homes West in 1993.

Friends in North Carolina have long been aware of the signifi-



cance of Fort Bragg, at Fayetteville, as one of the nation's—indeed, one of the world's—largest military installations, home of the special forces (Green Berets), 82nd Airborne division, and the Special Warfare School. In 1969, Chapel Hill, Durham, and Raleigh Friends Meetings and Piedmont Friends Fellowship responded to a need articulated by Fort Bragg soldier Dean Holland. Holland challenged them to help those like himself within the military system who find they cannot conscientiously support war. With scant funds, a barely habitable house was rented across from the Veterans of Foreign Wars hall in Fayetteville, and Quaker House was born.

Since its founding, Quaker House has continued to provide witness to the Friends peace testimony by offering military counseling to the men and women at Fort Bragg, as well as at Pope Air Force Base and Camp Lejeune Marine Base in nearby Jacksonville, North Carolina. Though considered “too radical” by some Friends at the outset, Quaker House has enjoyed the financial support of the North Carolina yearly meetings, a variety of North Carolina and other Friends meetings, as well as several other Friends fellowships and yearly meetings.

Throughout its first quarter-century it has given counseling and support to thousands of soldiers and their families. Similar work was started in 1995 in Norfolk by members of Virginia Beach Meeting when they established Norfolk Quaker House.

Friends held their first three world conferences in London (1920), Swarthmore, Pennsylvania (1937), and Oxford (1952). The Fourth World Conference, held at Guilford College in 1967, was unquestionably the most significant single event of Quakerism in this area for 300 years. It brought together for 10 days of worship, study, and fellowship the most representative and diverse group of Friends in three centuries. The conference was attended by 904 official representatives and staff, from 50 yearly meetings and associations and 35 countries. An adjunct conference of 285 spouses and others closely related to the conference, called the “Greensboro Gathering,” was held at nearby University of North Carolina in Greensboro, for a total of 1,189. Under the theme, “Seek, Find, Share: The Time is This Present,” these Friends reached a deep and inspiring level of spiritual commun-



ion, which resulted in expanded areas of service by Friends in their testimony for world brotherhood and peace. U Thant, the Burmese secretary-general of the United Nations, in his address, “The United Nations and the Human Factor,” challenged Friends to unite with others in helping to make peace a reality for all people. His audience of more than 7,500 was one of the largest and most international in Friends history.<sup>61</sup>

As Quakerism has evolved through three centuries in North Carolina, it has often reflected the life of the farmer and rural community—until the past 65 years. In the early 1970s, 10 of the 85 meetings in NCYM (FUM) were in large cities. By 1997, 15 could be said to be in metropolitan areas; nearly as many were in smaller towns. In addition, many of the other, smaller meetings were in communities surrounding the towns and cities. Thus can be seen a gradual shift from an agricultural Quakerism to one more nearly industrial and commercial. This was particularly true in High Point, Greensboro, and Winston–Salem, the populous “Triad” of Carolina Quakerism.

North Carolina Quakerism has never been affluent in terms of considerable wealth. There has developed, nevertheless, a nucleus of personal and family fortunes in a few businesses and industries, notably furniture, textiles, packing equipment, orchard, tobacco, poultry, farm machinery, milling, tombstones, real estate, banking, merchandising and related businesses. They have centered in the piedmont “Triad” (Greensboro–High Point–Winston–Salem), Goldsboro, and Murfreesboro.

For some Friends, the most important thing an individual can do is to live conscientiously, to the best of one’s ability, a life of obedience to Christ and his will. It may be that this personal and corporate witness has been the most lasting gift of the Society to the Carolinas. The outreach of the American Friends Service Committee in the areas of peace education and human relations based on brotherhood has been among the significant contributions of Friends in the South.

If one were to choose from the various activities in the past, the work to free the slaves may be considered the highlight of its history.

The less dramatic work of education may, in the long perspective, however, prove to be of prime consequence. The work of New Garden Boarding School spanned the years from 1837 to 1888, laying the foundation for a Quakerism with knowledge of the past and tools to work with the present.

As a liberal arts institution, Guilford College, beginning in 1889, expanded its service under Lewis Lyndon Hobbs, Thomas Newlin, Raymond Binford, Clyde Milner, Grimsley T. Hobbs, William R. Rogers, and Donald McNemar, its first seven presidents. It has served not only its immediate community in this state, but has reached out to most of the eastern states and several continents. By 1997 its 1,093 main-campus students and 352 continuing education students represented 40 states, 30 countries, and all major religions; seven percent of the students were Quaker.

Guilford College was for decades a pioneer in its ability to provide a wholesome atmosphere for constructive solutions to the serious problems of racial prejudice. It is believed to be the first four-year, church-related college in North Carolina to adopt a nondiscriminatory policy in its admissions program. In its total outreach to individual students and their families, as well as by its institutional influence in the community, Guilford College may, indeed, have been not the only, but certainly among the most important, channel of service in the entire history of the yearly meeting.

Friends of North Carolina are now reviewing 300 years of history and are looking to their fourth century.

The difficulties encountered by Friends in the Carolinas during the past 300 years have been serious enough. As a part of the world community, confronted with problems in new and more complicated dimensions, the difficulties ahead will not be less. It is not a time to retire and relax. It is a time to read again the good news that God loves the world, that he has sent his son into the world to make that love incarnate. This is still our greatest hope, to make that love incarnate.

## Endnotes

### NOTES TO PAGES 17–18

<sup>1</sup> Hugh T. Lefler: *North Carolina History Told by Contemporaries*. Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1934, p. 1.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 4–6.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 6–7.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 9–10.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 14–15. John W. Moore in his *School History of North Carolina*, 1882, refers to Durant, p. 47, as the “sturdy Quaker” who had bought the land and “was a leader in wealth and influence among the settlers,” but the claim has not been documented. See Weeks S. B.: *Southern Quakers and Slavery*, pp. 33–34.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 15, 16, 18.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 18–19.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 22.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 30.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 99.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 105.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 134.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 285, 317.

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 120–22.

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*, David Duncan Wallace: *South Carolina A Short History 1520–1948*. Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1951, pp. 15, 23.

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 49.

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 101–02.

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 157–58.

<sup>19</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 271, 276.

<sup>20</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 526.

<sup>21</sup> Rufus M. Jones: *The Quakers in the American Colonies*. London: Macmillan and Co., Ltd., 1911, p. 26 ff.

<sup>22</sup> William Edmundson: *A Journal of the Life, Travels, Sufferings, and Labour in the Work of that Worthy Elder, and Faithful Servant of Jesus Christ*. Dublin: Samuel Fairbrother, 1715, pp. 52–61. John L. Nickalls, Ed: *The Journal of George Fox*. Cambridge: The University Press, 1952, pp. 641–45.

<sup>23</sup> The decision was made on August 7, 1963.

<sup>24</sup> Edmundson, op. cit., p. 59.

<sup>25</sup> Nickalls, op. cit., p. 642. Quoted by permission of Friends Library, London.

<sup>26</sup> Stephen B. Weeks: *Southern Quakers and Slavery*. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1896, p. 49.

<sup>27</sup> Ibid., p. 166.

<sup>28</sup> Ibid., pp. 166–67.

<sup>29</sup> Elbert Russell: *The History of Quakerism*. New York: The Macmillan Co., 1942, p. 123.

<sup>30</sup> Weeks, op. cit., p. 160 ff.

<sup>31</sup> Weeks, op. cit., p. 49.

<sup>32</sup> Weeks, op. cit., pp. 331–44

<sup>33</sup> Weeks, op. cit., pp. 178–83.

<sup>34</sup> Weeks, op. cit., pp. 331–44.

<sup>35</sup> Dorothy L. Gilbert: *Guilford A Quaker College*. Greensboro: Jos. J. Stone & Co., 1937, pp. 303–04.

<sup>36</sup> Ethel Stephens Arnett: *Greensboro North Carolina*. Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina, 1955, p. 20.

<sup>37</sup> Weeks, op. cit., p. 128.

<sup>38</sup> Jones, op. cit., p. 300.

<sup>39</sup> Russell, op. cit., p. 209.

<sup>40</sup> Weeks, op. cit., p. 213.

<sup>41</sup> Weeks, op. cit., p. 225.

<sup>42</sup> Weeks, op. cit., p. 223.

<sup>43</sup> Weeks, op. cit., p. 241.



<sup>44</sup> Weeks, op. cit., pp. 124, 290. There are now, however, 29 meetings in Virginia, as members of five different yearly meetings. See 1969-70 Friends Directory, Philadelphia: Friends World Committee, pp. 82-84.

<sup>45</sup> Weeks, op. cit., pp. 269-72.

<sup>46</sup> Gilbert, op. cit., p. 36 ff. This volume is the definitive account of Guilford College through its centennial, 1937. See especially the post-civil war period, pp. 112-62. The authoritative story of Quaker education in North Carolina up to 1924 is Zora Klain's *Quaker Contributions to Education in North Carolina*, Philadelphia, no publisher, 1924.

<sup>47</sup> Russell, op. cit., pp 331-41. See also his Life.

<sup>48</sup> Fernando G. Cartland: *Southern Heroes or The Friends In War Time*. Cambridge: The Riverside Press, 1895.

<sup>49</sup> Ibid., pp. 202-03.

<sup>50</sup> Gilbert, op. cit., p. 100 ff.

<sup>51</sup> Weeks, op. cit., pp. 314-15.

<sup>52</sup> Ibid.. pp. 313-14.

<sup>53</sup> Ibid., p. 319.

<sup>54</sup> Ibid., pp. 336-27.

<sup>55</sup> Minutes of North Carolina Yearly Meeting of Friends held at Cedar Grove, Woodland, N. C., 1960 and 1970, and letter from W. Carey Reece.

<sup>56</sup> Letter from Aden Field, Director of Development, April 27, 1971.

<sup>57</sup> From Evangelical Friends International.

<sup>58</sup> Based on Southern Appalachian records for 1971.

<sup>59</sup> From the records of Melvin A. Zuck, clerk.

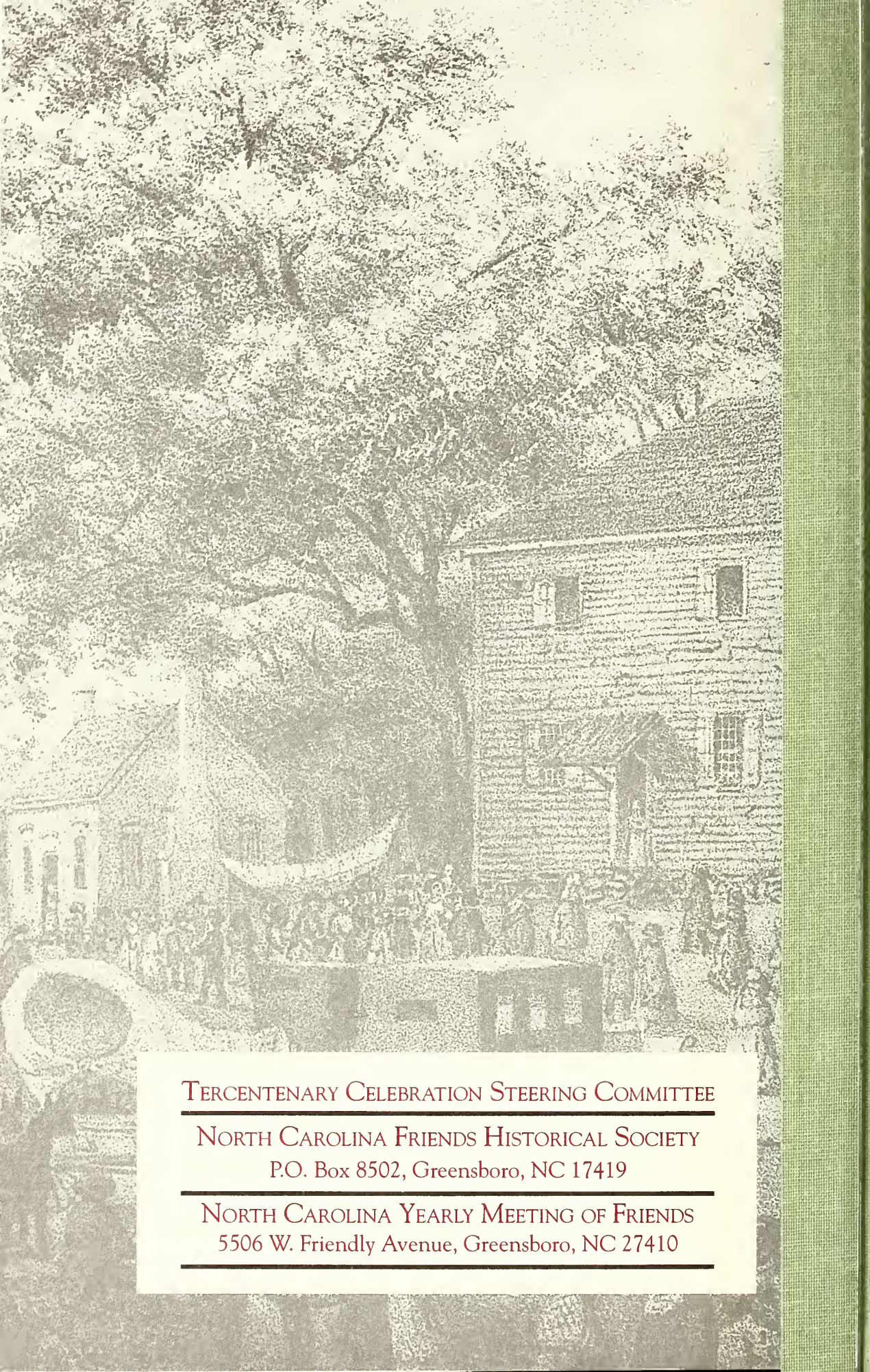
<sup>60</sup> See *Elbert Russell Quaker, An Autobiography*, p. 361.

<sup>61</sup> For a complete account of the conference, see the *Report of the Fourth World Conference of Friends*, Phila.: Friends World Committee for Consultation, 1968. Data from J. Floyd Moore, executive secretary of Fourth World Conference.

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